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most perfect manifestation. But, in order to arrive at the perfect solution of this problem, we must take leave of the Symbolic Form of Art.

THE NATION AND THE COMMUNE.

BY THERON GRAY.

It is proposed in this paper to make a somewhat earnest appeal to the ruling powers of the Nation in behalf of true national culture and accordant organization. Because, notwithstanding the increasing libertinism and disorder in all directions, there is no doubt that means are available by which to order anew and conduct the Nation on and upward to its promised destiny as a people's government. It is desired, in behalf of those means, to gain the attention and enlist the effort of those who, by commanding intelligence, genius, and wealth, will inevitably rule public affairs, and, ruling rightly, will gradually supplant disorder and strife with order and peace.

The promise of such an effort is most vital to all, but especially important to these builders themselves; for, if they build with unfit fragments, without due connections and supports, their work will surely fall, and crush them in the ruins.

So, it is not as mere sentiment that bewails the lot of the ignorant and oppressed, and strives to make that lot more tolerable, that best appeal is made, but as political economy, fortified with *data* firmly rooted as a science of civil conduct, more promising to the rich and cultivated, if possible, than to the various grades below. Thus promising, because the present practical antagonism of wealth and want tends rapidly to make want desperate, and to place wealth in peril before it—as the recent communal outbreaks sufficiently show.

The thought that does not meet the whole case and minister alike to the behests of wealth, with all its monitions of culture and refinement, and to the needs of the weak, ignorant, gross,

and base of every kind, is not the true thought of this era of commotion and strife between opposing forces.

As the skillful physician, in searching for the nature and remedy of a malignant disease developed in the system of his patient, tries to comprehend the normal and habitual states of that system, so, in order to understand the cause and remedy of communal outbreaks, and other lesser ruptures in our national experience, we must come to a good understanding of the normal order of the national system itself, and its habitual operations.

While in principle and theory our Nation is distinctly social or fraternal in fullest scope, in practice it is found quite the reverse. In theory it is thoroughly a people's government, without a taint of that inhuman exclusivism developed normally in all less mature forms of civil government. This theory carries the principle of perfect unity, alliance, and coöperation of the whole people. "Each in all and all in each" is the necessary logic of all human activities, and all investing methods or institutions under it. This robe of fraternity is so vital and broad that it enfolds and duly covers every person in the whole system, making each perfectly free in the bonds of law, and such a bondman or servant in the freedom of organized fraternity.

Alas, for the practice that has come to offset this theory ! It exhibits a sort of freedom, but it is the freedom of a cut-throat competition—liberty to combat and undermine the neighbor, to circumvent the plans of the fellow-citizen in unbridled self-service, providing, only, such endeavor is kept literally accordant with statutory law.

Selfish competition and strife, that breed every form of crafty evasion and criminal aggression, take the place of normally developed genius and organized power, according to the national theory ; and remorseless greed, corruption, and baseness of every kind are coming more and more to the front, in bold defiance of the threatening and protesting voices of penal and moral codes. Hence, while freedom is limited and distracting, order is equally partial and delusive, being the order of arbitrary authority, and not that of truly organized equality inherent in the national system.

This contrast of national theory and practice is suggested with no feeling of peevishness or acrimony, but as a reminder of dangerous perversion; under a firm conviction that such a course of national deflection tends, without remedy, to sure national ruin; and, also, that the remedy is simple, and easily made available, when the real powers that command are reached and duly impressed concerning that remedy. And, in order to thus reach and impress, it is designed to give an assurance, as we proceed, beyond any merely opinional conception—an assurance derived solely in manifest science.

Civil government cannot be less subject to the rule of stern law, interpreted as science, than are the numerous special domains of physics. In other realms of thought and experience, human genius has unfolded and applied the harness of science with such fidelity and exactness that mishap and failure are no longer possible. Civil government still struggles amid painful commotions and destructive shocks only because, in this grandest sphere of human endeavor, actual social science is still unknown, and only puerile empiricism bears sway.

We should understand that there is no force in creation that is not subject to orderly play, as a ministry to human needs, by being brought under the regimen of underlying law developed as science. This underlying, unwritten law is immutable, and co-existent with God Himself. In order to stand in actual service, written law—all rules and authorities affirmed by man—must truly represent the unwritten—eternal.

That form of force known as human power is, when regarded in its full scope, the crowning verity in creation. Crude, undisciplined, and unbridled, it is sure to ravage and destroy. Disciplined and moulded through the discovery and institutional appliance of the unwritten laws of its being, this power will become constantly ordered as the crowning glory of creation, because it will thus be presented divinely in-formed and motived continually. So, while otherwise it were a power full of furious passion and desolating rage, through the composing methods of ultimate forms of science it will be found as genial, beneficent, and productive as before it were malignant and destructive.

But here we step above the realm of physics in our quest of

science. The human form is a spiritual force—a form of creative genius endowed with majesty and power. As such it must be known in its essential nature and conditions before we can proceed to comprehend and apply investing methods or conduits thereto. Hence metaphysics, or the science of mind, is sternly fundamental to civic science in institutional methods. Exact knowledge of the substance is requisite before we may proceed to ally it with its true investiture. And, although an elaborate presentation of this science of metaphysics does not seem necessary for the purposes of this treatise, its methods will be suggested, over and over, by the formulas and discussions proposed.

Here another predicate comes in order. It is this: Man (mind) is supremely objective or magisterial in the creative scheme, and institutional forms (government) are subjective or ministerial.

This is a truth so fundamental and constant that any human system that fails to see in the lowest and basest of human kind the foetal or infantile heir to a lordly inheritance in a divinely-destined patrimony, and neglects to rear and train its ward accordingly, violates its obligations as an authority, and does not rule by “divine right.”

Authority, even of an arbitrary nature, is necessary during all stages of human development; but authority that violates this fundamental social law of the essential majesty of man, and constant servility of all institutions to that august presence, is not an authority poised in *divine right*, and will surely come to naught, whether it appears under the rule of despotic or democratic institutions.

But, to get our foundation well laid, we must lay it piece by piece; so we proceed:

THIS HUMAN FORM IS THREEFOLD.

Basic is the *Sensory Economy* (animal-human), whose controlling authority is unreasoning force, represented by penal law.

Mediate is the *Rational Economy* (human-human), whose

authority is educated reason under conscience, represented by moral law.

Supreme is the *Sophial Economy* (divine-human), whose authority is spontaneous life, represented by social law, under whose diction, as science, all extremes and diversities become reconciled and ordered, freedom constant in immutable law, and authority relieved of all pressure through right adjustment.

The lowest degree, being immersed in mere sense-conditions, cannot, of itself, rise above them.

The mediate degree carries sense-power up into distinctive human realms of conscience and rational ideas, but cannot, unhelped, rise above that unsatisfactory state.

The supreme degree carries sense and reason up into the realm of regal greatness, in infinite love, wisdom, and power; there disciplines, qualifies, and empowers for the order of scientific fruition to which the whole form is destined.

It is essential to impress our thought somewhat with this order of degrees as universally prevalent in the human form, because by that alone do we come to comprehend the verities of human experience and human destiny, and derive a sure clew to processes of human culture competent to carry the whole body steadily up to its best estate.

Here is the proper aim of all true thought and endeavor to-day: We are not to convert, *immediately*, the principle of social law into methods of final organization and ripest uses in best social conditions. The material for those conditions is mostly wanting, at present. That material is found only in maturest human character, genius, and power in all personal forms. Hence the work of true social science shall consist, for the present, in projecting primary institutions, of every kind, adapted to the physical, moral, and social nature and conditions of the whole people. The principle of the universal unity of mankind — amplest fraternity — must steadily vitalize and illumine those processes, else they will descend to the partial, exclusive, and selfish methods of present ruling, rather than remain constantly true to the divinely-human behests of social law.

No building can be built and adapted to its purposes in use till its material shall have been fully wrought out and fitted for the structure, according to plan and specifications given. Nor can that sublime structure, human society, be reared and converted to orderly use till the human material is fully wrought into qualified conditions. So, while social law, in a conception of human society, is indispensable to shape, and rule constantly all preliminary, qualifying methods, the master-builder will never for a moment countenance any rude attempts to leap into full occupancy and use of best social conditions, while only qualifying or structural processes are in order. This must be constantly urged.

The partial, trifling schemes of social organization that have sprung up and failed because of this oversight of primary conditions—because of this attempt to “take the kingdom of heaven by violence,” rather than by general qualification for its exalted conditions—are apt illustrations of the folly of trying to realize the harvest before entering into the toils of cultivation. No man, nor set of men, has a right to withdraw and stand aloof from the toils and burdens of the great race of human kind. To rush with headlong zeal for Heaven, and leave the degraded brotherhood writhing in the pangs of Hades, were selfish greed so diabolic that Hadean flames were sure to overleap their accustomed bounds and torture such selfishness with becoming discipline.

Now, in order to make the rule of the thought I am trying to advance more intelligible, as also the thought itself, let me try to represent to the senses the whole system involved—that, if there fail to be fullness and consistency in verbal expression, wholeness of representation may remedy the short-coming and carry full conviction.

The representative formula here presented is derived in unitary principles of creative law, that embrace, not only the processes of the productive or generative series, but also genetic root as base of development, and generated result as crowning fruition thereto.

The ordering principle thus presented, let us be careful to observe, is simply the law of triplicity, embracing:

First. Monoplicity; as subjective power, *involved*, in indefinite form, or chaos.

Second. Duplicity; as subjective power in transit, through *evolutionary processes*, by toils, struggles, conflicts, and unrest, specifically elaborating all particular forms and forces involved.

Third. Triplicity; as subjective power become objective in *evolved state*, and at rest in the inspiring delights of spontaneity, through perfection of powers and conditions.

Although the human form is thus defined in successive order, the three elements of human personality are involved, and simultaneously active, from the beginning, but are not seen and understood in best respects till revealed in the life and light of the ultimate degree come to be an actual experience. Although the ultimate form — perfect manhood — cannot be known or comprehended excepting as the human affections and intellect are ripened into vital unity with that great destiny wherein the race puts on its royal robes, yet it is the only living power in all history, without which the race could never rise above the most stolid communal chaos, but by virtue of which its destined glory, in the realms of our common experience, is surely fixed.

Let us not be misled by any unreal *appearance* in the diagram. It actually presents only three degrees, or moments, as a rule of thought. The multiplied divisions of the second degree (II) do not add to these three terms, as may at first seem. Any seeming of that kind comes from repeated solutions of that degree — extended analyses of the generative factor of the scale — made by carrying the same alkahestic trine into minor quests in this special realm.

All *developing* movement is derived in static base, as initial form, and tends to crowning result in end achieved.

End of development, or productive energy, does not imply a rest in stagnation or death, as sometimes erroneously conceived. It only implies objective attainment in perfect conditions of life and uses. This end, in human development, is a

**DIAGRAM OF CREATIVE LAW, REPRESENTING THE SERIAL ORDER
OF THE HUMAN FORM, AND RELATED ORDER
OF INSTITUTIONAL INVESTITURE.**

I.		DEVELOPING FORM.							III.	
ENVELOPED FORM.	INVOLVED TRINE.	MONAL DEVELOPMENT.	DUAL DEVELOPMENT.	TRINE DEVELOPMENT.	DEVELOPED FORM.					
					MONAL, DUAL, AND TRINE UNITED.					
0.	This space represents the potential or involved form of <i>Mind</i> and <i>Institution's</i> , whence are derived three discrete degrees in development, and a fruition of perfect order in scientific organization.	These spaces denote authority.	These spaces in all intrinsic authority denote the orderly unification of all arbitrary pressure.	4. denote the orderly union of the as arbitrary pressure.	5. denote the orderly union of the as arbitrary pressure.	6. denote the orderly union of the as arbitrary pressure.	7. folding character and genius.	8. folding character and genius.	9. folding character and genius.	10. This space represents full scientific fruition—Human Power full, potent, and free. Institutions, perfect and truly adjusted, in service continually
Anarchy (Non-government).	Monarchy, or Simple government.	Duarchy, or Complex government.	Triarchy, or Composite government.							Triarchy fully organized; or, complete Hierarchical Order.

NOTE.—Monal Development covers, in the Human Series, the conditions of infantile *growth*; Dual Development relates to youthful *growth*; and Trine Development relates to the ripening process of human character—*growth* in manhood. The unit of human character and power, indicated under III, embraces all human excellence, with accordant institutional forms, and thus stands for full, perfect manhood and scientific order.

promise to man of the attainment of unimaginable genius and power ; not in some far-off heaven, but in heaven on earth— infinite beauty, harmony, and order in all our common experience—to be consummated, finally, through the steady conduct of public affairs in the spirit and *lumen* of social law.

The design at present in view does not so much demand a thorough explication of the full trine terms of the diagram (I, II, III), as a symbol of creative law, as it does an exposition of the rule of development under the mediate term (II) of that series. And our main interest here will center upon the third term (trine development) ; for our own national order is therein represented, and the Nation will yet verify the rule of development there indicated, providing its commanding wisdom comes to find and employ the clew to actual scientific national development—to do which it has not hitherto been able.

The three squares of this degree of the diagram (II) are designed to represent the three discrete degrees of the human form in their unfolding processes (either in the race, the nation, or the individual), and also the three related degrees of institutional authority (government).

The smaller divisions of those three squares indicate a further analysis, under the same principles, not necessary to a plain man. The running of the Arabic numerals through the full series, thus exhaustively analyzed, gives a hint of the rule of the principle in the scale of numeric power, and helps more forcibly to illustrate the scope and power of the conception as a method of unitary law.

The transverse line, descending from left to right across the three squares, is intended to define between mental power (spaces above) and institutional power (spaces below).

The three terms of *these* degrees should really be *mon-dual*, *duo-dual*, and *tri-dual development*, because they all partake of the duplex or diverse and unsettled factor of the full series, being all varied forms of that degree. Familiarity with the principle, and its application as a strict solvent, will make this clear.

The first degree (*mon-dual development* ; 1, 2, 3), starting

from anarchical root ("0"), as communal indifference of mind and its conditions, represents human power beginning at zero, with related authority at zenith, or supreme ; the first (human power) gradually augmenting, and the latter (authority) gradually declining, till, at the point of departure to the next degree, mind—human personality—becomes a manifest power, and authority becomes measurably deferential, on human account, and slightly yielding.

This new step in development (the duo-dual, 4, 5, 6) initiates and carries on a marked struggle ; on one hand (mind), for greater freedom and power ; on the other (authority), to perpetuate its sway and hold in check the rising tide of human personality.

This is emphatically the specializing or individualizing degree of the series. While, therefore, it tends to educate and establish personal power, with its normal sense of freedom, it is not favorable to united action, alliance, combination of such special powers. So the conditions are not here favorable to revolution by the masses in their own behalf. This is accordant with a wise providence, which does not incline to facilitate the assertion of great freedom and power by the masses until they are fitted to give the initial to organic order, whereby freedom may find its proper mould or body in fitting institutions.

It is as surely the destined lot of the race to grow as it is the lot of the individual. Hence this mediate degree of development ends in a transit to the next (tri-dual, 7, 8, 9) degree—after having projected multiform institutional methods, more or less yielding to human needs—under an explicit theory of man as master, and institutions as servants to his needs, without exception.

Here we find the organic initial to our own national system 'as a government "of the people, by the people, for the people." This order commences in a manhood so majestic and true, the clearest intuitions of the ripest human conditions possible to experience were native to it. That manhood startled the observant nations with proclamations of the greatness, power, and inherent rights of man universally ;

planted the new germ of liberty amid bravest toils and sacrifices, and poured copious streams of its most precious blood around it to fit it for future growth and fruitage.

Growth and fruitage! But true national growth was uncomprehended and overlooked, and the promised fruitage became only a vague phantom of “glittering generalities.” The men who came after mistook the situation, and plunged the nation into a career adverse to the national theory, adverse to its promise as a true republic or people’s government, and nothing but renewed wisdom, and a new departure in the true national spirit and purpose, can avert fatal results.

Reference to the diagram will show that this third, ripening form is still a form of development in human worth and power, with corresponding declension in arbitrary authority, till the first attains a supremacy; and the latter a servility, of function exactly accordant with the national conception and promise as announced by the founders. For the nation practically reveals its form and verifies its promise only when the whole people shall have become free, orderly, and powerful, in a manhood and womanhood of supremest moment, with institutional methods adjusted in constancy to every dictate of perfect society, and never the slightest pressure at any point. So it is seen that this conception of the declension of institutions to a point of nihilism, as human worth and power fulfill in character, does not contemplate the lawless parade of the latter and the extinction of the former, but simply the realization of both terms grandly consummated—man being lord and master, and institutions wholly servile to his needs ; just as, in any special science, mastery of ruling laws, and conformity thereto in practical uses, enfranchises and empowers to the utmost extent, without the slightest sense of pressure.

There is no verity in creation—either as thought or thing—that is not subject to a developing or unfolding process just proportioned to the magnitude or importance of that verity. Who will suppose, therefore, that a national system fraught with the promise of ours could be given in experience and immediately operated as if it were substantially a matured

structure? Such is the aspect practically presented. How else may we account for the lavish distribution of power and privilege before there had been any qualification therefor in educated virtue and intelligence, and institutional conduits assuming the proper flow of such power and privilege? A system that presupposes exalted human worth as a factor of government should surely first develop that worth, and truly condition its methods of expression, in order to make any practical exhibition of itself in its own mature form. How perilous the mistake, therefore, that made a broad distribution of freedom and authority to the people, according to the *involved* nature of the system, instead of proceeding to construct and operate methods that would first duly qualify freedom and power in the citizen.

True, there seems an inconsistency in founding a representative government wherein the whole people are to be represented, and then withholding the ballot and other forms of power from a large portion of citizens. But do we not know that the child in the family is more truly represented by parental intelligence and power that comprehend its needs and apply the wherewith to fulfill those needs than it could be by having the responsibility thrown upon its own uneducated intelligence and power? Under the social dogma of its initial instruments, what is our nation but a larger family — all of whose children, during their minority, should be faithfully represented by a presiding wisdom comprehensive of their needs and carefully provident of all their interests?

With a large portion of the people practically children — variously weak, ignorant, gross, or vicious, as they were sure to be previous to national fruition according to the national ideal — a numeric minority of intelligence and wealth were sure to be the governing power, whatever the semblance through a universal ballot that is practically little more than a fraud. If the ballot really functioned as a representative means — as it purports to do — what would it represent, in so far as a large section of the most needy and helpless are concerned? Simply weakness, ignorance, vice, and crime of every

kind. What can avail for *freemen* fastened in these degrading toils but the governing wisdom of the power above them? Nothing.

But here we face a difficulty. Under the prevalent competitive strife for distinction in wealth, and other like aggrandizements, intelligence and wealth, as ruling powers, are so largely carried in this inhuman self-service that, comparatively, little thought or means are given to public service—to a service of all, in all, for all.

But there remains a remedy, even if selfishness still inclines to be absorbed in its greedy pursuit. For that mighty undertow of neglected human power—hitherto mostly surging in subterranean depths—begins to show on the surface in fearful breakers. And, if these controlling powers remain fixed in narrow devotion to selfish aims, instead of giving heed to social law and ruling to fraternal ends—ends that comprehend all interests and provide for all—then will they come to be played upon and ravished by those under-currents of lust and passion that were suffered to drift recklessly onward and augment in characteristic force, when they should have been taken in hand and truly directed. Communal desolation is the remedy—but a painful remedy. Far wiser were it to listen to the monitions of social science, and thereby rightly dispose the elements otherwise sure to flay us. Remedies by inversion and empirical endeavor are always painful and tedious, and only successful at last by compelling resort to methods of science in commanding law. The distress of our late communal throes will prove thus remedial when it prompts the ruling powers to instigate a radical search, in the light of civic science, and thence to institute remedies accordingly. And it cannot be too forcibly and constantly urged that this demands a public conduct strictly consonant with the terms of social law; a conduct, consequently, that shall proceed from a wisdom comprehensive of the needs of the whole people, and a power sufficient to execute the demands of that wisdom.

We cannot, in our appeals, get direct access to the ears of the various communal grades; nor would it effect any desirable

result if we could. They can ravage and destroy ; or, by forbearance, can *adjourn* the evils of competition between capital and labor, but they can do nothing directly to inaugurate right methods, nor even to avert, finally, the fearful violence of uncultured and exasperated human power pressed and stung beyond endurance. Our only hope is in an appeal — through manifest science — to the ears of those few who do and will, at present, rule the nation — either for the good of all or the ruin of all.

If the competitive system is perpetuated, strength and superior craft will continue to despoil the weak and less crafty. This will continue to breed reckless and desperate feeling and habits. Human nature *will* react against whatever presses and galls it. In such reaction it will resort to means proportioned to its conditions. It will be unreasonable, vindictive, and cruel in proportion as it is uncultured and gross. Hence the governing powers have an interest to provide methods of culture for all who are uncultured, and to compel a use of these methods. Free culture will provide for all the powers of man — physical, as well as the intellectual, and higher still. Especially does it demand the institution of industrial methods of every kind ; not only to train in industrial power, but to produce proper supplies for all. To this end all must be protected and assured in a just share of the goods they create. At no point may the weaker and more dependent be despoiled with impunity, else they will come to prey upon, and despoil in return, with a ferocity that knows no bounds.

So completely has Providence put this nation under the direction of social law, which regards unity of power and the fruits of power in a positive commonwealth, that no violation of that law can rule continuously without disaster or ruin.

United and happy peoples in a united and happy race is the ultimate purpose of Divine Wisdom. Hence all petty schemes that violate the laws of universal brotherhood must be fraught with evil, especially to the votaries of such schemes. Do we need more tuition under this head than that which has come to us in communal outbreaks and destruction? If so, we will get it by extending the reign of strife and competition in behalf

of self-aggrandizement. On the contrary, if we will organize the principle of fraternal good-will, inherent in the national system, peace will at once begin to exert her benign sway.

There are those who say that this competition is essential to business enterprise—that business would flag, and general stagnation take the place of present business energy, if the motive to outshine and excel others in these superior shows of wealth and power, that practically cripple and destroy the brother, were displaced. But it is a shocking reflection upon the creative wisdom to suppose it limited to an economy that bases energy and enterprise in a system that is fatal to the existence of that orderly society which itself has appointed as the acme of human greatness. It is impossible. The thought is as absurd as it is dishonorable to the divine name. The emulative spirit is a beneficent and mighty power; its true expression is accordant with, and productive of, fraternal order and peace, rather than of discord and warfare, amongst men. Excellence and superiority in all social power and worth; in productive genius, and every kindly ministry to all human needs; in mastery of every obstacle to the welfare of all—these, and their like in social significance and tendency, will be found ample ministries to the emulative spirit in man. They are honorable to both creator and creature, and will inspire human energy and enterprise immensely beyond the base, cut-throat methods of our present competitive strife.

In the processes of social regeneration all forms of industry and art will become duly honored; dullness will be encouraged, prompted, and educated into becoming energy; shirking, dishonored and disciplined; idleness, treated as a species of disgraceful stealth, and its votary trained accordingly; till, finally, all come into the spirit and power of true social order.

True, with a large development and application of mechanical powers to production, and the more general interest and application of human power, productive results would be vastly augmented, but there would be no danger of a surfeit or glut; for consumption would keep pace with production. Being relieved from the stress of monopoly and exclusive

hoarding by being assured in a just share of the proceeds of best conditions of production, the masses would become generous consumers, as well as producers ; becoming relieved from the pinching conditions that now drive them to madness and the rudeness of communal outrage. So, perpetual enterprise and thrift would take the place of revulsions and painful stagnation.

At present we have almost no means of stimulating human powers and directing their orderly play. We throw around each individual the pressure of legal and moral restraints, and expect conformity and order in the life of each, while yet we have given them scarcely a particle of social culture and support. How absurd to suppose the pressure of the lower degrees can apply to regulate the conditions of the higher, and produce the coveted order !

When men scorn and deride these barriers and levers — as they are sure to do under the quenchless cravings of their social instincts — we apply the vindictive screws of justice, as we call it, till they are broken into order or crushed out. So we have increasing rebellion and disorder, and multiplied thumb-screws of *justice*. And, strange to say, few seem to distrust prevailing ideas of social economy, or question the wisdom of a public conduct bearing fruits of pillage and distress on every hand. Rebellious human nature — all unhelped and unwashed as it is — seems alone at fault, while we, the *righteous* commanders, feel ourselves justified, and even obligated, to lash, scourge, and destroy. If, instead, we would come to a due sense of social obligations, and concentrate the commanding intelligence and power upon means of general helpfulness, organizing ways and means for the development and proper play of all human power, there would be an immediate lull to the raging currents of lust and passion, and, in good time, perfect equilibrium and peace.

He whose rule is supreme and cannot be supplanted admonishes us in a thousand stinging providences that this is an era of social forces and laws, and that social conduits must be provided for the accumulating fluids if we would not be rent and torn by their furious rage. He is daily showing us the impo-

tence of designed restraints that imprison, chain, strangle, and shoot down the unkempt brotherhood, by rearing up bristling hordes to fill the ranks thus decimated. And He will continue thus to do until we heed His calls to social law and duty, and proceed to construct systems of social sewerage and general reform—to provide that filthiness shall be washed away ; the hungry fed ; the wayward and vile recovered to usefulness and decency ; the weak made strong ; the infirm, of every kind, firm and upright. Not by alms-giving and alms-doing, that tend to weaken and debauch, but by scientific recuperative methods that develop and rightly employ the native forces before going to waste.

Under the diction of mere sense—with its rule of arbitrary force—one may attend mainly to one's own ; and under the diction of human reason, even—with its moral barriers and stimulants—one comes to little of the sublime breadth and liberation of true human poise ; but, under the diction of wisdom—with the social barriers and stimulants of universal brotherhood—one comes to see clearly that we dwell, constantly, “each in all and all in each ;” that, consequently, there can be no full rest and peace for a single soul, short of rest and peace for all. So, the genius and power of previous culture, that were before absorbed in every lust and scheme of self-service, as opposed to common service, come here into the broad and genial light of the universal, and devote themselves accordingly mostly to public service. Not, indeed, sacrificing and depleting self by so doing, for this social law is so broad and economic that what serves the public best likewise best serves the individual, and *vice versa*.

Minus the rule of this principle here, in this nation of its own nominal home, and the reign, instead, of every species of self-service, the most voracious and inhuman strife were inevitable. As a consequence, social aggressions, repulsions, and explosions are rife on every hand. Volumes would not suffice to enumerate the various convulsions thereupon experienced. Little can be done here more than to cite in general terms, and point out the relation of, commanding laws ; that thereby specific explications and remedial applications may be prompted.

Under a science of archial order, dictated by social law—man being constantly magisterial and objective, with institutions ministerial and subjective—the progress of the race, under whatever prevailing mould or governmental form, would be made with a steady, peaceful flow, ever true to the growth of man in human worth and power. Institutions would truly conform to such gradual human exaltation; orderly declension of arbitrary methods, and the substitution of social springs and levers, would occur, and thus the unfolding volume of spontaneous life find its due ministries.

If rulers everywhere were to become duly informed, and thence rule according to these dictates of social law-rule socially and humanly, rather than selfishly and inhumanly, every form of authority would become at once glorified with divine radiance; for, all authority being based in social knowledge, and proceeding with social aims, beholding in every person an heir of glory, destined *lord of lords and king of kings*, would regard with tenderest deference the unwashed babes and sucklings of our present mendicant conditions. Every appliance of genius and method of wisdom would be brought into use to cleanse, cultivate, liberate, and exalt human kind universally. The present scarred and deformed samples of humanity, ranking, socially, from embryonic to more advanced stature, would be carefully cherished, nursed, trained, and in every way fitted to join the great march and keep orderly step of themselves.

So we constantly see; social science will not, for the present, apply itself to the organization and operation of ripest human character and conditions. It must first be employed to effect true social culture, in the light of such final order. At present it has to deal with very crude and base raw material. But the point of supremest moment is to keep the light of man's social destiny steadily in view as the only *lumen* by which to handle and fashion this unwrought and badly-wrought material. Then, formation and re-formation may go on together in perfect order.

The dullness of those invested with the responsibilities of authority has suffered the accumulation of a fearful amount

of most perverse human power, which *must* be taken in hand and brought into lines of discipline and tutelage that lead upward towards the desired end. Multitudes have been so born, reared in, and saturated with, all forms of diabolism, that well-disposed people look doubtfully, if not with dismay, upon the work of reform ; especially upon propositions for actual cure. Nor is such distrust surprising ; for the accumulating composite forces of this social era are so poorly understood, and even so little known to exist, in their true nature and activity, the conditions presented cannot be otherwise than disheartening. But those duly conversant with the laws of movements, and consequently with the forces at play, and the means at hand adapted to the rule of those forces, see nothing but the power and glory of the coming of the Son of Man on the surrounding clouds — so deep and somber to most observers.

In view of the late communal *émeutes*, one of the startled millionaires of the country, it is said, called for a dictatorship to rule the nation, and pronounced for General Grant as dictator. That wily intellect is doubtless good for the work it has in hand. By bulling the stock markets, and variously operating financial checks and springs, it may continue to hoard and monopolize any amount of the wealth produced by others ; but, when it thus looks to a scheme of converting this government into an instrument to bull the masses into supple allegiance to the few great monopolists of the land, it exhibits a stupidity concerning government problems that would send the puniest school-boy in political science to the foot of his class.

Monarchy is possible here, but it cannot be pre-arranged and doctored after the manner of the financial operations of the monopolists. The nation must first go down in communal anarchy ; thence governmental authority would surely arise, and that resurrection would exhibit monarchy as a new start in archial growth. Let the monopolists understand the part they are playing in this *rôle*, for the anarchy of senile communism—the communism of this era—is as different from that of primitive anarchy as the terrible rage of the ocean in the

most violent storm is different from its undisturbed surface. Under the rule of social law they are surely so disordering the elements as to produce storm conditions in our social experience.

Only a few decades ago the old United States Bank, operating under a capital of \$20,000,000, was found to be a dangerous money power, because, by methodic inflation and contraction, made to reach the circulating medium of the whole country, it could unsettle the industrial and commercial operations of the nation, in behalf of some special scheme, and thus spread distress and ruin amongst the whole people. As a financial center, that bank was the merest pygmy compared with numerous aggregations of capital to-day. There are many millionaires in the country whose possessions reach or come near that sum, and a few whose wealth largely exceeds it. It is said that some of our Westerners, owners of bank and mining stocks, command an annual income of about \$20,000,000. The Rothschilds, with a capital of some \$200,-000,000, and an income of about \$10,000,000, must soon fall behind some of our own money kings, in power, and yet it is thought they can control most of the crowned heads of Europe. Besides these immense gatherings of wealth and power in the hands of individual capitalists, the vast sums centralized in large railroad and other corporations exhibit fearful powers, which, under the present competition of labor and capital, tend steadily to debase labor and aggrandize capital. And there is a constant tendency to organize and consolidate the powers of wealth, while labor combinations are easily played off by capital, and workmen become forced to sue for humiliating terms. So, between two stones operated by capital—one grinding down labor and the other, by making “corners,” grinding up prices—the laborer has a poor outlook for relief without the introduction of a radical change in the system.

Wealth cannot thus centralize and operate in the hands of a small numeric minority without directly distressing and impoverishing a large numeric majority. But it can, and does, make this minority of numbers a mighty majority of power in the shaping of public conduct; so that it is well known to be

almost impossible to carry important legislation in the direct interest of the masses against the direct greed of the monopolists. For these financial bullies have got the clew to bulling legislation, and the lobby has thus come to be the commanding power over the people's tribunals in this country—in this government of, by, and for the people !

It is often argued that the masses are served by the business and enterprise of the country, operated by this wealth, and ought to take their wages, economize their means, and keep quiet ; and even be thankful. Served, indeed, as the dogs are served with the crumbs that fall inadvertently from the master's table ! They can take the scant pickings and gleanings which wealth is compelled to scatter in its gathering operations, and only these.

In the great aggregate—the game of monopoly as a whole—every one knows that wealth settles more and more in few hands, and want more and more presses the many. This is a truth that cannot be gainsaid, and one of immense significance.

But how is it all to be remedied? Capital commands the situation ; legislation in behalf of the masses, that will curb aggressive monopoly and organize those masses in industries, and assure them in the just proceeds of their toils, cannot be effected, for the monopolists command legislation in behalf of their own aims. All appeals in behalf of justice and right are of no avail, because moral law has ceased to be a force against the aggressive greed of the monopolists no less than against the criminal arts of the human under-currents that surge to despoil them. So, what can be the remedial resort? We must heed the voice of social law, and *institute* the methods of *common justice*—healthy activities and providence for all, neglect and spoliation to none. We must impress the monopolists in behalf of these social aims ; not by appeals on moral grounds—for now is the reign of the social era in human affairs—but by appeals on economic grounds ; grounds of general production, conservation, and distribution of wealth on principles of exact justice, more important to the upper strata than to the contemned under-currents fast gather-

ing to carry them down unless the gathering be rightly averted.

Aggressive wealth is fast educating aggressive want. The commune is a normal outgrowth of the galling operations of centralized and centralizing wealth. Seizing and exclusive hoarding by the arts of avarice, speculation, and traffic stimulate seizing and appropriating by the arts of theft and every species of free-booting and piracy.

Nothing can save us from the distressing dead-level of communal dissipation but the speedy initiation of societary methods inherent to the national logic. The inhuman greed of monopoly that more and more seeks to aggrandize the few at the expense of the many *must* give place to the gracious calls of society in behalf of our common human nature.

If the monopolists will duly consider the pressing needs, and take a strong hand in organizing ways and means for all, then peace and order will at once begin their benign course. If they continue to violate their social opportunities, and still grasp and appropriate as heretofore, then let them look for grasping and appropriating by the pinched and starving legions in return. Seizing by the few, by virtue of superior craftiness or intelligence, is deemed *civil* practice, and thought to be essential to healthy business enterprise and worthy attainments. Seizing by the many, by virtue of mere physical force, is criminal aggression and *uncivil* communism, to remedy which bullets and bayonets are mistakenly deemed our best appliances.

But, although we have barely laid out the grounds for the new social structure that, amid all the shakings, can nevermore be moved; have touched lightly the rickety old, and faintly indicated the structural processes of the sublime new, we must draw to a close our present treatise.

Let us now partly retrace our steps, and, with an added thought or two, conclude our essay.

The conception of our national system embraces the principle of perfect society—fraternity. The nation can only exemplify that principle by first ordering and steadily unfolding all the forces of individual character and institutional

investiture, with a clear design to realize such society. The *nature* of the system was perfect from the beginning. All the materials were *potentially* right. Yet those materials—both as to quality of citizenship and institutional forms—were far too crude, gross, and immature to be convertible to such designs through immediate organization and use. So, while for a long time it were impossible to operate the nation in such complete conformity to the conception as to actualize perfect society—brotherhood—it was at once obligated to devise and operate systems of public education and training perfectly true to the conception; thus assuring, in the end, the actual national embodiment of that conception in perfect society.

Such systems of national culture would be so compulsory as to carry every personal factor into line of development and use, whatever were the state and personal tendencies of such factor. Government, being really an expression of the commanding intelligence, was obligated to be so wise and authoritative—so truly government—that no citizen could proceed, self-directed, contrary to a public direction, towards full social harmony and order.

There being all forms and states of culture in citizenship, from lowest up towards the highest (none being, for the time, actually in highest conditions), all forms and conditions of institutional investiture were indispensable accordingly. But, man being constantly the magisterial or regal force involved, and institutions the ministerial or servile force, all authority must be true to this principle, and, therefore, never in the slightest degree tend to despoil the individual. *There is no other ground of law nor rule for freedom under our system.* Unless the nation can devise methods and direct conduct accordantly therewith, it cannot truly build the system it has taken in hand, nor hope to realize the sublime end, finally, that awaits legitimate national fruitage.

It is clear, according to the thought advanced, that little of true national development has really transpired in the nation's experience. And this thought is held to be irrefutable. Distinctive national development consists in the unfolding of

manly worth and power in all citizens, and corresponding projection of institutions, both gradually tending upward towards the inspiring standard contemplated. Institutions, being the instruments or moulds of this advance in human power, must fully keep pace therewith. So, it were the true mission of conservatism, as a force in our system, not to conserve or hold mere forms or instruments perpetually, but to surely conserve the commanding principle that ever underlies all forms, and thus rightly fashion and hold forms in their true order of use; introducing new when required, dismissing old when no longer useful.

It were also the true mission of radicalism not to war upon forms because they seemed inadequate to ultimate ends, but to keep true to root principles, see that consistent institutions were gradually unfolded and applied as ministries to progress, so that immediate, partial ends would be sure to serve ultimate, perfect ends.

Thus true science practically reconciles these hitherto conflicting forces, and unites them in vital human endeavors; conservatism being the guard and defense, and radicalism being the stimulating and provident ministry, of the nation's life. But both radical and conservative mostly failed to comprehend the situation. Both practically mistook national development to consist in the increase of population, with all material powers and resources, such as are common to all nations, and do not distinguish one from another. But the political genius of a nation makes its true form; and the nation is developed and fixed in that form when the logic of its political system has been fully embodied in institutions and converted in use, and not till then. So, national development, in our American system, consists in processes of human culture and institutional forms that will carry the nation steadily through that degree of growth represented in the diagram as the last—Tri-dual—term of Development, and fix it in those logical issues of glory and power represented in the diagram as the ultimate form of the whole Archial Series—III.

Men of apparent intelligence—capable, at least, of expressing their ideas with tolerable force—have lately advanced the

notion that our national system is a failure, and must give place to monarchial rule. A most stupid thought! The national system was never tried, in a way to determine its value, by this or any other nation. It was never more than a mere inchoation of the true nation. It may, perhaps, be regarded as having had birth, though it were a question whether mere foetal insemination were not the truer symbol of its life. Hence it may yet fail to get practical development and organic activity in its own order—its own normal fullness and power. In that case it would exhibit an incapacity on the part of its doctors, wet-nurses, and later tutors and wardens, but surely no fault as to the system itself. How can it be maintained that a distinct system of nationality has proved a failure when it was never matured, nor even approximately developed in its own proper form? As well look for true manhood in malformed infancy, and denounce all manliness as failure because it did not reappear. Yet such is the shallow habit of criticism we daily meet.

Our national system has not proved a failure, nor do we believe it will do so. It never can prove itself a failure until it has been put on trial in its own true form. It can never thus be put upon trial until it shall have been thoroughly developed and organized upon that supreme principle of social law fundamental to its theory as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, without exception. The Lord grant that it may thus come to trial.

THE SCIENCE OF EDUCATION.

A PARAPHRASE OF DR. KARL ROSENKRANZ'S "PEDAGOGICS AS A SYSTEM."

BY ANNA C. BRACKETT.

[The translation of "Pedagogics as a System" was prepared and published five years ago. The wide demand for it that has made itself known since that time, especially in normal schools, has proved the value of such works in the domain of education. At the same time, the difficulty the students have always found in its use—a difficulty inseparable from any translation of a German metaphysical

PAGE	
Nature and of the Elements; (12) Outlines of the Religion and Philosophy of Swedenborg; (13) Zwei Briefe Ueber Verursachung und Freiheit im Wollen; (14) Hartmann, Duehring, and Lange; (15) George Stjernhjelm; (16) Philosophische Monatshefte; (17) Verhandlungen der Philosophischen Gesellschaft.	
Book Notices,	217
(1) Zeitschrift fuer Philosophie und Philosophische Kritik; (2) Professor Watson on Science and Religion; (3) Principia or Basis of Social Science; (4) Soul Problems, with other Papers; (5) A Series of Essays on Legal Topics; (6) Percy Bysshe Shelley as a Philosopher and Reformer; (7) Elements de Philosophie Populaire; (8) Inaugural Address, by S. S. Laurie; (9) The Historical Jesus of Nazareth; (10) A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant; (11) Philosophische Monatshefte, Leipzig, 1877; (12) Die Phantasie als Grundprincip des Welt Processe; (13) Philosophie de la Religion de Hegel; (14) The Princeton Review.	
Book Notices,	436
(1) Krauth's Vocabulary of the Philosophical Sciences; (2) Stirling's Burns in Drama, together with Saved Leaves; (3) Pfleiderer's Religions Philosophie auf Geschichtlicher Grundlage; (4) Bascom's Comparative Psychology; (5) Eucken's Geschichte und Kritik der Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart; (6) Bascom's Philosophy of Religion; (7) American Journal of Mathematics.	

ERRATA.

- Page 45, line 28, for *such*, read *each*.
 Page 51, line 23-4, for *a plain man*, read *explain now*.
 Page 54, line 5, for *assuming*, read *assuring*.
 Page 56, line 19, for *Free*, read *True*.
 Page 56, line 28-9, for *diction*, read *dictation*.
 Page 57, line 34, for *interest*, read *increase*.
 Page 60, line 12, for *law-rule*, read *law—rule*.
 Page 67, line 17, for *the reappear*, read *there appear*.
 Page 383, line 21, for *sobriatur*, read *solvitur*.
 Page 400, line 11, for *on*, read *or*.
 Page 401, line 8, for *succeeded*, read *superseded*.
 Page 402, line 30, for *an*, read *our*.
 Page 402, line 33, for *an*, read *our*; for *even*, read *ever*.